

THE
ORATOR'S
POLITICAL MEDITATION;
OR, THE
SENATOR'S
SELF-EXAMINATION.

To be, or not to be, that is the Question.



LONDON:

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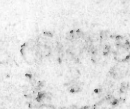
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(Price One Shilling.)

Suppressed

THE
ORAL
POLITICAL
OR THE
SENIOR
GRAT-EXAMINATION

It is a ...



LONDON:
Printed by J. Bouquet, in Fleet Street, near St. Dunstons Church.
(Price One Shilling.)

The Publisher's Advertisement.

Gentle Reader,

BE candid in thy Censures, nor say to thyself, much less to thy Friends, that thou knowest the Prototype of the self-important Personage, who *meditates* in the following Pages. For thou possibly may'st be mistaken in thy Opinion; and amongst the many ambitious Demagogues, profound Politicians, and perfect Orators, whom both the last and the present Age have produced, thou wilt find it extremely difficult to determine who has been, or who is, the most of a Demagogue, a Politician, or an Orator. The unknown Gentleman, who put these Papers into my Hands, would not give me the least Information how
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he came by them ; and we are only left to guess, that, by a Fate, not unlike what happened to the Title-Deeds of a late Nobleman's Estate, they were purchased amongst the useless Rubbish of some defunct Statesman's Library.

THE ORATOR'S

POLITICAL MEDITATION.

THUS retired into my Closet, exempt from the Oppression of Business, and abstracted from the Tumult of the World; let me converse, a while, with my own maturest Thoughts, and meditate upon the Plan of my future political Conduct. The Task, which I am entering upon, is arduous, important, and most interesting; let me go through it, therefore, with all the Seriousness and Attention, which so weighty, so leading,

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and so necessary a Work demands; and, laying aside the Quickness, Vivacity, and Impetuosity of my natural Temper, let me deal with myself, in this *Home-Enquiry*, as impartially, and with as little Ceremony as I am accustomed to treat other People. Behold a new Parliament elected; a Session just approaching: there is not a Moment's Time to be lost.

Here then I sit, ornamented and distinguished with one of the most splendid, lucrative, and honourable Employments, which his Majesty can bestow upon the most favoured of his Subjects. Here I sit, the Terror of my Enemies, the Security of my Friends, the Pride of my Relations, the Admiration of my Country, and the Talk of Mankind.

But whence this noble Exaltation? from what Origin did it first arise? and to whom am I obliged for that high Rank in Life, which I so worthily sustain? Is not all my present Weight, Dignity, and
 Impor-

Importance in the World entirely to be imputed to the Superiority of my Genius, my Understanding, and Abilities? Is there a Man within the whole Circumference of the *British* Dominions, to be compared with myself for Volubility, Rapidity, and Profundity of Thought?—For Propriety, Plenty, and Profusion of Expression?—For Grace, Majesty, and Energy of Action? And for all those other wonderfully extensive Endowments of Soul, which can adorn the Character of the Statesman, and complete the formerly-unfinished Idea of a perfect Orator? Does not the united voice of the Senate, and the corroborating Language of the Public, mutually concur with my own Evidence, and bear Testimony to the Extraordinariness of my intellectual Powers?

If I can discern and know the Secrets of my own inmost Heart, I am not vain, arrogant, nor presuming. But certainly, Justice is as much due to

myself, as to other People; and God forbid, that I should ever defraud myself of all that Approbation, Applause, and Commendation, which my Conscience pronounces to be the Debt of a Merit, as difficult to be properly acknowledged, as thoroughly comprehended. I promised to deal the same Measure of Freedom and Impartiality to myself, in this *Closet-Meditation*, as to the other Persons, whom I might chance to call before me in the Execution of my Design: and I must and will be faithful to my Engagement.

I am in a Station, it is true, exalted infinitely beyond the primitive Expectation, Hopes, or even Wishes of a younger Brother of no very distinguished Family. But is not this Station the Purchase, and the amply-earned Reward of my own Deserts? Am I not equal, am I not superior to it in all Respects? Is it able to fill, to satisfy, and to satiate the Powers of my grasping and all-
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capacious Soul? Am I not conscious of a Void within me, whenever I endeavour to confine myself within the narrow Boundaries of my present Office?

Can there, on the contrary, be imagined any Employment so considerable, any Business so perplex'd, intricate, oppressive; or Place of Trust so eminently important, which I do not feel myself more than a Match for? Do I not thoroughly understand, and am I not able to express myself elegantly, fluently, and convincingly upon all Sorts of political Points, whether they regard the Administration of our foreign, or the Regulation of our domestic Affairs? Is there that Man within the three Kingdoms, who will stand forth, lay his Hand upon his Heart, and say, that he is better acquainted either with the antient or modern Annals of *Europe* than I am? Have I not revolv'd the immense Volumes of the *Corps Diplomatique*, and made myself, in the most superlative Manner, Master of all the various Interests, Views,

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and Connections, past, present, and future, of all the Princes and States recorded in that laborious Work?—By this Means therefore, I am absolutely-well qualified to poise the Balance between jarring and discordant Nations; to put a Stop to the haughty, and unseasonable Claims of *one*, and to inspire Courage into the fainting and desponding Hearts of *another*; to improve the favourable Dispositions of a *third*, and to distribute subsidiary Aids to a *fourth*, where Experience shews that its Friendship cannot be secured without the Help of pecuniary Gratifications. I can insinuate, flatter, allure, or intimidate, as occasion offers. The Funds and the Resources, the Strength and the Weakness of my own Country, are all known to me; the multifarious Advantages arising out of Commerce, the solid, lasting, and essential Benefits resulting from our Colonies, and the Necessity of supporting a Balance of Power upon the Continent, are better and more adequately digested in my deeply-meditating

tating Head, than in the lighter Brains of any other Person. That Conscience which has ever hitherto been my Guide; and ever shall be my Guide, speaks to me in a Voice too loud to be misunderstood, that there is no political Burthen so ponderous which my Shoulders are not able to sustain with Dignity to myself, and to support with Profit and Advantage to the Nation.

Far be it removed from my Candour, Humility, and thoroughly-known Modesty, to flatter myself upon any Occasion, much less at this Juncture, when I have expressly put myself under the Inquisition of a Self-examination. But surely it would be extremely for the Interest and Reputation of my dear Country, as well as for the Honour of human Nature itself, that the immense Abilities, (both natural and acquired,) which Providence hath bestowed upon me, should be produced into the most splendid Light, and held up in the View
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of the meridian Sun.—Whatever else my Adversaries may perchance lay to my Charge, Vanity, I am certain, can never be imputed to me.—But would it not be justly deemed Ingratitude to the Almighty Donor, to permit such Talents to be buried in the Inactivity of a lower and subservient Office?

Behold me then determined to commence the glorious Operation; nor whilst this ardent Soul shall animate this heaving Breast, will I be contented with an inferior Station.—I will look upon no Preferment as high, while there is a higher, within the Reach of the highest Subject to aim at. I will be at the Top of all;—I will attain that Heaven of Statesmen, To be surrounded with a numerous Crowd of admiring Dependants; to controul the Sovereign; to dictate to the united Senate, and to give Law to whole Provinces and Kingdoms.

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I feel my Powers gradually enlarging ; the charming Idea fills and extends the whole Comprehension of my Soul. Lead on, *glorious Ambition* ! I am prepared to follow, whithersoever thou shalt conduct my never-to-be-wearied Steps. — Thou pointest to that revered Bust, whose Sagacity, Integrity, Depth of Judgment, and immense Weight of personal Character formerly controuled all my Designs, and struck an irresistible Awe into my subdued Faculties.—I know thy Meaning, nor will I be wanting to myself. I will make use of the Opportunity of this Death ; and over the Heads of my Inferiors, Equals, and Superiors, will I raise myself to all the Height of Glory, which animates my glowing Imagination.

But whither is my enraptured Fancy hurrying me ! — Resolved upon the End, let me, in the next place, revolve by what best Means the noble Prize may most effectually be attempted, and

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attained. Shall it be accomplished by concurring with the present Administration; by defending their Persons and vindicating their Measures in the Senate? shall I be contented, for a while, to act an Under-part to Persons, most undoubtedly my Inferiours in all the noble and intellectual Qualities? This will probably recommend me to additional Favours, Trust, and Confidence; until, by Patience, Perseverance, and an uniform Obsequiousness, I outstrip my more impetuous Rivals, and the first Post spontaneously, as it were, drops, like mellow Fruit, into my expecting Hands.

This way, indeed, may be safe, may be sure; but then it is too plain, direct, and obvious to be pursued by me. It is altogether unworthy the daring Efforts of a Genius, such as that which I have the Happiness to be blessed with. Augment the Difficulties; encrease the Hazard of the Attempt: nothing dismays me; the larger Harvests of Honour shall
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I reap from the Conquest. Giant-like Souls think, and execute, in a Manner peculiar to themselves. I love to do something to make my Name fly about from Mouth to Mouth, and to see *the great Orator* pointed at by the admiring Crowd, as he rolls by them in his elegantly chosen Chariot. I was never born to follow, to be led, or to be guided by any Wisdom but my own.

No! *Opposition!* *Opposition* shall be my Plan! Here shall I have abundant Opportunity to demonstrate the Profundity of my Penetration, the Versatility of my Understanding, the Promptitude of my Wit, the Volubility of my Tongue, and all those other amazing Talents, which distinguish the Man of Parts and Spirit, from the common Herd of human Creatures. By attacking, I may choose my own Ground, and raise the irresistible Battery of my Eloquence, wheresoever I please. Here I may act without Fear of either Contradiction or

Controul, as in a Kingdom where I reign the absolute unrivalled Sovereign. Here will be Room for me to display all the Actions, Graces, Affections and Powers of that energetick Faculty, in which I, so eminently, excel all the World. I may be angry whenever it suits my Conveniency; I may reproach whom I please; I may complain, talk big, sooth, sneer, or ridicule whenever it agrees with my Humour to do Honour to these Topicks. Here shall I have frequent Occasion, in Imitation of my Predecessor *Demosthenes*, to thunder and lighten to my astonished Audience:—Here may I do whatever I dare.

Triumphant Opposition! to thy single Divinity am I obliged for my Advancement from one of the most inferior Commissions in the Army to be amongst the Leaders of the Nation. To thee I owe my Credit, my Wealth, my All. Had it not been for thy all-potent Influence, the conceited, wilful, and hot-headed
Dutchess

Dutchess had never known my excellent Merit, nor (passing over the natural Claims of her own Family) had rewarded it, with so noble a Prize in Hand, and so valuable a Contingency in Reversion. Most honourable, most lucrative *Opposition*! to thy Altars do I bow my otherwise unbending Knees, and to thy Shrine will I offer daily Incense.

But hold! tho' determined by *Opposition* to force my Way to Riches, Grandeur, and Power; yet let me use Discretion in laying down and conducting the Plan of my future Operations. Let me not act like the reptile, headlong of Mankind, who live extempore, and are impell'd by the present Instinct, rather than guided by Maturity of Judgment.

Shall I then (confiding in my own native Strength) alone, single as I am, without Ally and without Colleague, oppose myself to a whole Host of Envyers, Rivals, and Superiors in Office? Or, shall

I connect myself with any of those larger Factions, which divide the Kingdom?—Or, will it be for my Advantage to enter into a Confederacy with any of those Persons, who, actuated by the common Principles of Ambition, are in Pursuit of the same End with myself?—These Points shall be maturely, distinctly, and deliberately, revolved, controverted, and debated in the cool and impartial Meditations of my Mind.

Suppose, then, that I displayed my Banner, and invited the *Jacobites* to range themselves under my Standard.—They are a Race of Men more numerous, active, industrious, and powerful than is usually imagined: nor have they escaped my Penetration. I have observed and traced their silent Steps thro' almost every Province of the Island. But, O my Soul, have thou nothing to do with Persons of this unaccountable Cast and Complexion; with this senseless and stupid Order of Mortals, who, born, like Asses,
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to carry Burthens, presume not to think for themselves; nor aspire to any superior Qualities than are to be found in that passive Brute! All true *Cappadocians*, inviting Slavery, and not daring to enjoy Freedom, even when it is offered to them.—What should a Man of my Abilities do at the Head of a Faction so despicable for their Understanding; who have neither Eyes to see my Merit, Ears to hear my Applause, nor Tongues to celebrate my Praises? Should they succeed in those Schemes of Wretchedness, which they are endeavouring to impose upon their Country, it is impracticable for me to hope to enjoy so exalted a Station under a new Government, as that which I do honour to at present. Foreign Counsellors and popish Confessors will divide the whole Administration between them; whilst my Labours will be entirely forgot, and my superior Wisdom rewarded perhaps with something extremely unlike that blue Ribbon, with which I hope one Day to see my Person
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ornamented. Instead, therefore, of attempting to put myself at the Head of this ignorant, unreflecting, and unfeeling Body, I will endeavour to recommend myself to the Approbation of the Good and the Wise, by laying them still lower than they are; by exposing their Stupidity to the general Scorn and Derision; and by using them as Whetstones, whereon to sharpen the Edge of my deep-cutting and all-piercing Tongue.

But what shall I say to their faithful Allies and Confederates, *the Tories, the Grumblers, the Discontented, and the Indifferents*? Shall I offer my Service to become the Champion of this Host of Adversaries so formidable to the Administration, and propose myself to them to be their Head and Leader? They have already been frequently made the Dupes of other Men's Ambition guided by superior Wisdom. By their subservient Means I enjoy that Height of Dignity; to which I am now exalted;
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nor have we been unaccustomed to consult, advise, and act together.

But is this Project, in Reality, feasible? And will the *Tories*, unthinking, unmeaning, and silly as they are, confide in me again, and suffer themselves to be guided by a Man who has once deceived them? Will they not remember, that I am no small Part of that Corps, which, not long since, so egregiously gull'd them; and under the venerable Veil,—the sacred Name of serving the Public, rendered them the passive Instruments, whereby to raise ourselves to Wealth, Honours, and Preferments?

If the *Tories*, as a Body, as a Faction, have any fixed, solid, and settled End in opposing the protestant Establishment, it must be absolutely the same, as that of their inseparable Friends the *Jacobites*, namely, the Restoration of that *Phantom Constitution*, which never existed but in the Windmills of their own giddy

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dy Brains.— Here then all the same Objections, as above, occur.

Suspecting me, (as they will fondly pretend,) for a vain, selfish, arrogant, and assuming Man; acting without Principles, and preferring my own Interests before all other Considerations, they will never be induced cordially to trust me. If, therefore, I cannot hope to render them subservient to my Views, as Friends; let me (with all the Versatility of Wisdom which distinguishes the consummate Politician) labour to make them useful to my Purpose in another Way; and, by abusing them, in Season and out of Season, at all Times and in all Places, let me endeavour to bespeak the favourable Attention and Regard of the *old, true, and genuine Whigs*.

Could I, indeed, but get this respectable Body to accept of me for their Head, their Leader and Conductor; could I but animate an Opposition with their extensive

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five Influence, the Work would be completed at once, and my next Leap should be to the wished-for Goal! These are the real Guardians and Parents of the State, who, in their several Turns, have saved the Nation both from the Tyranny of the *Stuarts*, and from the ill-digested Schemes of rash and precipitate *Republicans*. These, therefore, are the Men, whom the Bulk of the Nation, from mature Experience of the Salutariness of their Principles, have learned to love, revere, esteem, and absolutely to confide in.

But have I any solid Grounds to hope, that it will ever be within the Compass of my Eloquence, within the Force of my Oratory (great as it is), to reduce this awful and well-compacted Phalanx to my Disposition? What Arguments can I offer strong enough to persuade them to oppose an Administration, which has all along uniformly acted with them upon their own Principles? Are they not

already furnished with Leaders, in whose Abilities, Consistency, and disinterested Integrity, they repose the utmost Confidence? Will they not remember my former Apostacy and Tergiversation? Can it, reasonably, be expected, that they will ever forget with what Vehemence, Acrimony, and even Virulence (as they termed it) I enflamed the Nation, and resisted every Measure, right or wrong, which they proposed to pursue? Will they not call to Mind the various Abuses, with which I every where endeavoured to o-generate them? Will they not upbraid me with the Injustice of the Accusations, which I formerly laid to their Charge, viz. that they had formed Designs to betray and sacrifice the Constitution of their Country to the Avarice, Ambition, and Prerogative of the Prince? Must I not expect to have *the Name of Hanover* resounded in my Ears, as I once wished it might be branded in my Forehead, if ever I voted for the Hire of the Troops of that Electorate?—But let me not thus secretly,

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and even in my Closet-Recess, think any more of a Subject so disagreeable!

But what if I openly took Shame to myself, and with a Countenance unshaken, and unembarrassed, absolutely condemned my former Conduct? A wise Man, a true Politician, is never long at a Plunge; but is always able to conform and adapt himself to the various Changes of Circumstances, Times, and Seasons. Suppose then, that I endeavoured to out-whig even the most rigid, severe, and inflexible of the Party: That I was for some time to make *Moderation* the continual Burthen of my future Orations in the House; to plead for additional Privileges for Dissenters; to throw out, as Occasion offered, something against the Church, and to speak slightly of the Bishops: Shall I not, by these Means, calm the Resentments of this powerful Body, lull their Apprehensions of me asleep; and, by Degrees, render them ministerial to the great End which I have
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in view? — It will not do:— They will never be induced to trust me. With regard therefore to the *Whigs*, much must be left to Contingencies, which it shall be my Attention and Business to turn to the most advantageous Account.

There was a Time, indeed, when *Opposition to the Government* was sanctified to the Public under the venerable Title of Duty and Affection to the Heir apparent: When the Interests of a most amiable and well-meaning Prince might safely be pretended to screen, and even to adorn, those fervent Declamations, which had no other End in prospect, but the immediate Benefit of the zealous Speaker. But, these Halcyon-Days of aspiring Ambition are now no more! *Halcyon* may they truly be stiled, when the unembarrassed and strong-faced Orator was sure of meeting with a Reward for his Labour; and to abuse, calumniate, ridicule, and reproach the Measures of the Father, was Honour,

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Protection, and Preferment at the other Court.

The *happy Mother* of that numerous Offspring of lovely and hopeful Princes, too well knows her own and her Family's Interest, to deviate, a single Line, from what she but imagines to be his Majesty's Pleasure. She has that Fund of solid Sense and sound Judgment, that Duty and Submission to her Royal Father, that she can never be deceived or misled by fair Appearances, and the most plausible Pretensions. And so much Experience has she already had of the various Windings, Turnings, Shiftings, and Tergiversations of murmuring Politicians, that she will never be induced to quit her present Sweetness and Contentment, to be the Arbitress of dissatisfied Ambition. Sensible (as every Action bespeaks her to be) of the repeated Instances of his Majesty's Goodness towards her and her Family, and penetrated with Gratitude for the continual Favours which she is receiving from him,

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it will be impossible for me to commence an Opposition under her loved and revered Name, or to place her at the Head of a political Faction.—Nor will the Abilities of the Persons, to whom the Care and Education of the *Royal Youth* are committed ; their Sagacity, mutual Harmony, known Integrity, Duty to their Sovereign, and their steady, constant, uniform, and disinterested Attention to their important Charge, permit me to attempt to make a Breach on that Side of the Royal Family ; or suffer me to entertain the least Hopes of dividing a House so happily, and so impenetrably, united in itself.

May I not, however, promise myself better Success by turning my Application to single Persons, and by endeavouring to enter into a Confederacy with some of those restless, perturbed, discontented, gloomy, and out-of-humoured Spirits, who, (tho' gorged with the richest Preferments, and raised to Honours much beyond their
most

most sanguine Expectations,) like so many Sons of *Nimshi*, are driving furiously to the highest Post, and who will rejoice, and greedily snatch at the first Tender which I shall make them of the Assistance of my powerful Arm?—But this is slippery Ground, and must be gone over with Caution, Reserve, and Wariness; envying, hating, despising, and suspecting each other, as we most cordially do; Rivals to each other for the same exalted Station; Rivals for popular Reputation, for our Royal Master's Favour, and even for the Credit of our personal Characters, it behoves me to be extremely careful; lest, whilst I am laying out myself to render them subservient to my Views, I become the active Instrument of gratifying their Ambition. Tho' in all the Powers of the Understanding I am, without question, superior to any of them, or even to all of them together; yet must I be cautious not to fall a Sacrifice to undermining Craft, Cunning, and Artifice. The honest open-hearted Lion must be circum-

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spect, lest he be betrayed into the Snare by the unsuspected Wiles of the never-to-be-trusted Fox.

What a noble Triumph will it hereafter afford to my exulting Soul, when, seated in the Chair of uncontrollable Power, I shall reflect upon the past Achievements of my wonder-working Oratory ! With what heart-felt Pleasure shall I then survey the Selfishness, Prodigality, Rapaciousness, and total Want of Principles in one of my Rivals,—the obstinate Positiveness, the opinionative Stubbornness, and the audacious Insolence of Wealth in a second,—the ingrateful Vanity, the petulant Satyre, and the self-important Restlessness of a third,—and the swelling Arrogance, unfurmountable Pride, and changeful Unquietness of a fourth !—All not only groveling in Disappointment, but as having been rendered, thro' my superior Talents, the useful Ladders, by which I raised myself to Greatness.

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At present, however, I have no other Tools to work with, but *my own Family and Relations*. These are the only Instruments, which, at this Juncture, I can entirely depend upon; and these, under my Guidance, Management, and Controul, shall be sufficient to accomplish my Business. Conceited, presuming, wordy, proud of themselves, and more vain of calling me their Relation, they are all of them absolutely attentive to the Motion of my Finger; and even think themselves happy, to be directed and commanded by me.—What tho' they are adorned with splendid Titles, far beyond what their Deservings had ever afforded them Reason to expect? What tho' they are satiated with the most valuable and honourable Preferments, beyond the most favoured Family in the Nation, and even to the no small Disgust of others, whose Hopes, as well as Merit, ran as high as theirs? The Calls of Duty, Gratitude, and Acquiescence in their Royal Master's Will,

I know they will pay no Attention to, when my Pleasure points to a contrary Rout. Dazzled at the Splendor of my Arguments they will not venture either to think or act otherwise than as I move the Wire: So much are they my own, that they shall either oppose or concur with the Administration, resign or keep their Places, as best suits my temporary Convenience. And in return for this seasonable Obsequiousness, when the Hour comes that I shall be exalted to the premier Office, they, as my faithful Ministers, shall govern the Nation under my Direction.

But what shall I *Oppose*; and upon what Subject shall I first discharge the over-powering Battery of my irresistible Eloquence? This Point demands my coolest, most mature, and impartial Meditation, no less than the preceding Ones: Nor shall it be discussed without great Care, nor determined upon rashly, and with Precipitation.

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All *Opposition* must be directed either against *Measures*, or against *Persons*.

But to *oppose* either the late or present *Measures* of the Administration, with the least Prospect of rendering them contemptible and odious to the Nation, must, I apprehend, be an Attempt absolutely impracticable ; nor will all the blazing Colours even of my perfectest Oratory, nor all the Strength of my most specious Arguments, nor all that Confidence of unshaken Countenance, with which, among my other Gifts, I have the Happiness to be furnished beyond my Compatriots, be ever able to convince my Country-men, that their true, lasting, and essential Interests have been either neglected or not ardently pursued ; and that they are a wretched, miserable, oppressed, and impoverished People. For they will answer me, that they have the infallible Evidence of their Senses to the contrary ; that they see, hear, and feel the contrary.

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Let me, however, enter upon a calm and impartial Review of our present State and Condition, both at Home and abroad; when, perhaps, some unexpected Flaw will appear, and some bad *Measure* shew itself, which has hitherto been able to escape the general Penetration. For tho' I have no more Inclination to rejoice in the Misfortunes of my Country than other Persons; yet I must ingenuously confess, that it would give me no small Pleasure to spy out something amiss in the Administration, which it might be in my Power effectually to remedy, and upon which a plausible Opposition might be commenced.

———— But it will not do! —————

It is impossible for an *Englishman*, who has the lasting Honour, Prosperity, and Happiness of his Country at Heart, to reflect, with Seriousness and Attention, upon the last seven Years of our Administration, both foreign and domestic, and not to feel himself warmed with equal
Pleasure

**Pleasure and Gratitude at the interesting
Review.**

We have seen those gloomy Clouds, which, just before the Conclusion of the late War, began to over-shadow our Island, and to threaten immediate Ruin and Destruction both to ourselves and to our Allies, vanishing by Degrees, and every where giving place to the chearful and invigorating Beams of Sunshine. We feel the happy Change of Situation in the hourly Encrease of our national Credit and Reputation, in the entire Confidence placed in us by our Friends, and in the Respect which is paid to us by our Enemies.

Undisturbed by distracting Factions in the State ; secure of the quiet Enjoyment of our Liberty and Property under the impartial Dominion of the Laws, and having no Dangers to apprehend either for the established Church on the one Hand, or for the Toleration on the other;
Ease,

Ease, Content, and Satisfaction have glowed in every honest Man's Countenance, and we have really appeared to know, to taste, and to enjoy, the Blessings of the best constituted Government in the World.

You who study the remote Annals of your Country, and so frequently appeal to the Infancy of our Empire, as to the Standard of political Happiness; You who so strenuously argue for the Necessity of renewing from Time to Time the original Principles of our Civil Constitution, deal ingenuously, act honestly by yourselves and Countrymen, and candidly point out to us that Period of Antiquity, which, as impartial Historians, you would compare with the present Times, and wish seriously to have recalled. Tell us the *Henry*, the *Edward*, the *Elizabeth*, or the *Charles*, whose Reign you should really be pleased to see revived for the Honour and Happiness of *England*.—Were the essential Ends of social Union,

Union, and the distinct Boundaries between the natural and legal Liberty ever better understood, or more inviolably pursued and maintained than at present? When were the precise Limits between Privilege and Prerogative more exactly defined, and more regularly observed? Was the Connection between Church and State, and the fundamental Dependence of the former upon the latter, ever more clearly explained, or more generally acquiesced in? What is become of those religious Factions, which have so often disturbed the Peace, and prey'd upon the very Vitals of this Kingdom? Was the Glory of the *British* Nation ever greater, its Influence more comprehensive, its Power more formidable, or its Dominions larger? When were our Fleets and Armies in a better Condition to maintain our own Independence, to protect our Allies, and to extort the Reverence of our Enemies? Can any Time be mentioned when our Colonies were more properly supported,

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and more thriving ; our Trade more universal, our commercial Credit higher, our Manufactures more encouraged, our Houses more splendidly furnished, or the Purchase of our Lands at a more advanced Price ? Or when was the Balance between the several Branches of our Legislature poised with more Niceness, and held with greater Steadiness ?

But let me no longer teaze my dissatisfied Thoughts by dwelling upon a Subject, which (whatever Honour it may reflect upon my Adversaries, upon those, I mean, to whose Offices I am determined to succeed) can certainly contribute nothing to the Advancement of my principal End.

But what ! Tho' there be no Room, no Place, not the smallest Opening for me to hope successfully to oppose the *Measures* of the Administration ; yet may the Abundance of my Elocution, the Force of my Arguments, the Dignity of my Action, and the Intrepidity of my
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Countenance be advantageously levelled against *particular Persons*. Here shall I find abundant Subjects to display all those Flowers of Rhetoric, and Powers of O-ratory, which have so often struck my attentive Hearers with equal Pleasure and Amazement. There are few Characters altogether so perfect, which will not afford a sagacious, penetrating Eye room to espy Faults, Errors, and Mistakes in Plenty; which will not supply copious Matter for the nimble Tongue of Calumny, Ridicule, and Reproach to lay hold of: and to confess the Truth, I know not how it happens, but I always feel myself more peculiarly happy in my Expressions, my Arguments more ready, plentiful, and persuasive, and my Action more energetic, when I am engaged in personal Altercations.—Here it is, that I seriously triumph; and here it is, that I really thunder and lighten.

Suppose then, that I once more directed my principal Attack against the *royal*
 F 2 *Person?*

Person? That I attempted to insinuate Views, Connections, and Designs inconsistent with the Interests of this Country? That I again talked of *Hanoverian Partialities, mercenary Troops, yellow Scarfs, standing Armies, martial Laws, septennial Parliaments, arbitrary Power, Tyranny, Oppression, &c.*

This Plan, indeed, formerly succeeded to my utmost Wishes, and, with Gratitude let me own it, to this Plan I owe all my present Dignity, Significancy, and Importance.—But Times are altered—nor was his Majesty, in those Days, so generally known to his Subjects to be the *good* and *great* Prince, Conjunctures have since demonstrated him to be. They had not then had that intimate Experience of his Goodness, Clemency, Magnanimity, and Affection for them, which so eminently distinguish him from all other Monarchs, and constitute him another *Titus*,—the real Joy and Delight of his People.

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Let me, then, join my Voice to the universal Cry.—And in order to make ample Amends for all my former Want of Duty, Respect, and Reverence to my Sovereign, I will add my Approbation, Applause, and Encomium upon such immense Merit; I will tell all the World, that never was *Monarch* more sincerely esteemed and obeyed by his Subjects, never was Man more popular in any Nation.

As our Ancestors had no Idea of the Felicity of the present Times, so will Posterity appeal with Confidence to the Reign of *George the second*, as to the Standard of true Glory to the Sovereign, and of the most solid and lasting Happiness to the People.

They will represent him as a Prince, under whose Government, Empire and Liberty were intimately connected, and inseparably co-existed. They will describe him as ruling, thro' a long Series

of Years, over a free and brave People, without having once deviated from the known and established Laws of his Country; as making their real and lasting Welfare the whole Care, Concern and Business of his Life; as studious to foresee, and solicitous to avert, even the most distant Evils from them, and as anxious to make the most of every Advantage, which either Nature has given, or Art can procure, towards the Improvement of their Trade and Commerce. They will describe him as a Monarch, who, after having triumphed over domestic Faction by his Clemency, Moderation, and Magnanimity, and maintained the Independence of *Europe* by the Wisdom of his Counsels, and the Force of his Arms, was rewarded with the entire Esteem, Confidence, Gratitude, and Affection of his own united People, and with the Reverence, Respect, and Admiration of all the neighbouring Nations. Is there a Subject who would not wish to live under the auspicious Rule of such a Prince?

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Is there a thinking Monarch, who would not prefer the solid and substantial Glories of *George the second* to all the empty and unmeaning Reputation of an *Alexander*, a *Cæsar*, or a *Louis*?

But tho' the sacred Head of Majesty must be preserved untouch'd and inviolate, as well upon my own Account, as for the Sake of Truth, Justice, and Decency; yet the same Degree of Respect and Reverence are not due to the Person of *his first Counsellor and chief Minister*, nor shall they be rendered unto him by me.

Here then is the Object whom I am principally to oppose, and this is the formidable Authority, Influence, and Power, against which all the Engines of my Wit, my Learning, my Eloquence, and my Countenance, are to be raised, levelled, and take aim; not indeed against him in his private Character; for even Detraction herself, tho' stimulated

ted by Envy, must own that never was a better, nor more amiable Man in social Life, never a Man more generous, humane, and comprehensively benevolent—But in his public, his ministerial Capacity, I must, I will oppose him, with the whole Artillery of my most irresistible Oratory. For he has the Honour to be invested with that high Office which no Merit, but mine, can justly lay claim to; he enjoys that superior Rank, Dignity, and Pre-eminence in the Counsels of our domestic Cabinet, and in the Disposition of the Affairs of *Europe*, which my Genius prompts me to assert, as of Right belonging only to me.

Tell me not, my Conscience! tell me not of *Gratitude*! Be silent, nor trouble me with thy unseasonable Intrusions. Whisper not to me, that my present Significance and Importance are wholly to be imputed to him: That he has long treated me as his Friend, and as his Brother: That, by his kind Interposition,
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and Intercession in my Favour, I was reconciled to his justly-offended Majesty : And that, to his Bounty, Goodness, and Liberality, when deserted by my nearest Relation, I owe a Seat in Parliament, twice procured for me without the Trouble of Canvassing, or the least Burthen of Expende.—

—But why all this Profusion of Good-Nature ? And why these accumulated Acts of Kindness ? Because he loved me ? Because he had my Interest sincerely at Heart ? I will not think so ! No ! it was because he feared me ; because he knew the Mightiness of my Strength ; because he dreaded the predominant Influence of my wide-wasting Tongue ; and was desirous rather of buying my Friendship, than provoking my Enmity, and standing the bursting Torrent of my over-powering Eloquence.—Politician's Favours ! They are nothing but mere retaining Fees ! Nor is the Receiver more obliged for them to the Giver, than is the Advo-

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cate to his Client, when he purchases his Advice and his Words at the settled Price of a few Guineas.

Let him, then, pride himself in the Integrity and Uprightness of an honest Heart, which has never deviated from the true Interest of his Royal Master and his Country : Let him glory in that Uniformity of political Principles and Conduct, which have inseparably accompanied him from his earliest Hours to the present Moment : Let that Multitude of Friends, in which he boasts, plead the Comprehensiveness of his Capacity, the Extensiveness of his Foresight, the Immenseness of his Memory, and the Reverence which is universally paid to his Opinion in all the Courts of *Europe* — Nor let them forget to add the Multiplicity of Business, which is every Day coming before him, and is every Day dispatched by him, with that Skill, Readiness, and Punctuality, which nothing can effectuate, but the largest Abilities joined to

to a long and continued Experience in all the Variety of State-Affairs.—Tho' he be strong in the general Esteem, and stronger still in the well-merited Affection of his Sovereign, yet will I provoke the Engagement ; nor shall his Desert, great as it is, preserve him from sinking under the unequal Combat, when matched with my superior Prowess.—Let me but find, upon the Scrutiny which I am about to enter upon, the smallest Part vulnerable in this *Achilles*, and the World shall soon see it penetrated thro' and thro', by the never-erring Archery of my sagacious Eloquence.

Let me survey him then upon his first Entrance into Life ! Behold him Master of a princely Fortune ; of a Temper warm and active ; and of a Constitution healthy and vigorous.— This was, indeed, a Season of multifarious Hazard and Difficulty, surrounded with Temptations on every Side, and environed with Enemies of all Sorts and Kinds : Here was a Conflict to

be undergone, in which he who receives least Damage has usually the Reputation of coming off Conqueror.—Yet *He*, the Person, I mean, whose Behaviour I am scrutinizing, instead of applying his immense Riches to the Gratification of his sensual Appetites ; instead of abusing his superior Talents in corrupting the Wives, and debauching the Daughters of his Friends, his Tenants, and Dependents ; instead of squandering away his Estate in useless Ostentation, and wasting his Patrimony in Riot and Excess, amongst Pimps, Parasites, Gamesters, and Sharpers ; He, I say, like another *Curtius*, at once devoted himself, and all that he had, to the Service of his Country. Convinced, as he fully was, that the Religion, Liberty, Wealth, Credit, and essential Happiness of these Kingdoms, were inseparably connected *with the complete Establishment of the Protestant Succession*—This was the Point which he had ever most at Heart ; this was the Object, which was always uppermost in his

Thoughts ;

Thoughts; and to maintain and secure this fundamental Blessing to the Nation, not only his Professions, but the uniform Tendency of his Actions, demonstrated, that he was ready to sacrifice all that was near and dear to him; his Health, his Time, his Fortune, and even his Life. He was a warm *Whig*, and a zealous Friend of the *House of Hanover*, when it was almost fatal to the Ease, Quiet, and Safety of the adventurous Hero, who dared to assume, and to act up to, *that Patriot Character*.

When I contemplate him in the subsequent Scenes of Life, much do I find in his whole Conduct to admire and to applaud, and nothing, (thus sequestered from Observation let me ingenuously confess it) nothing to censure, or condemn. The Splendor of accumulated Titles, and a continual Encrease of Power, augmented his natural Industry, Diligence, and Devotion to publick Business: Nor have the highest Blessings in
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the Power of Fortune to bestow, had any other Effect upon his moral and political Disposition, than to render him more munificent, more generous, more chearful, and more extensively benevolent. Exalted infinitely above all narrow Views and selfish Considerations, and conscious of the excelling Value of his own intrinsic and acknowledged Worth, we have seen him laying hold of every Opportunity of recommending Merit to his Royal Master's Notice; we have beheld him on all Occasions ready to make an Offering of his own private Fortune to the publick Service: Nor will Posterity esteem it as the least shining Part of this great Statesman's Character, that he has always chosen to *appear* too diffident of his own Strength, too timid and fearful for a Person in his high Station, and even to suffer himself to be abused as such by his Adversaries; rather than permit his Royal Master's Business to be delayed or impeded a single Moment, by any Consideration, wherein his Passion,

sion, Resentment, or private Interest, might be imagined to be, in the least, concerned.

Pierced to the inmost Soul upon the Death of his dearest Friend—dear to him upon account of the Nearness of his natural Relation, but still more dear to him, as the honest, the upright, the faithful, the judicious, the capable, and the universally-esteemed Friend of his Country—It is impossible for me not to admire his Magnanimity, when I see him, (just after the melancholy Event) resigning one of the principal Employments of the State:—An Employment, in which he had so long shone with unrivalled Honour, the Business of which he was absolutely Master of, and in the Discharge of which, by the Grandeur of his Views, the Rectitude of his Principles, and the Soundness of his Judgment, he had given the most entire Satisfaction both to his own Country, and to all *Europe*.—Let it be repeated: It is impossible, I say,

I say, not to admire the Greatness of his Soul, when I behold him resigning such an Employment, to accept another, equally indeed important, and scarcely less laborious, but in which he had hitherto been very little conversant.

Why then was this Sacrifice made ? and at that Season of Life especially, when, with advanced Years and augmented Dignity, a gradual Relaxation from the ceaseless Stretch of Business might justly be expected ? And why did he, once more, commit his Bark, already sailing before the Wind into Port, to all the Toils and Hazards of an untried Ocean ? Was it for the Sake of amassing fresh Heaps of Wealth, or of introducing new Honours into his Family ? Was it with a View of extending his Power, or of gratifying the Cravings of unsatiated Ambition ?—Mere Riches, the whole World knows, he always regarded as an Object of inferior Concern ; and the Post, which he quitted, was much more lucrative than that which
he

he was entering upon. The Merit of his younger Years had been already rewarded, and adorned, with the highest Title which his Majesty could bestow; nor could the mere Alteration of his Employment add any Thing to the real Power, which he had long been in Possession of.

He could, therefore, have no other Motive for accepting the high Trust, with which he was last invested, but merely to testify his uniform and implicit Obedience to his Sovereign's Commands, who had a Right to dispose of his Integrity and Capacity, his Industry and Diligence, his Experience in all the Business of the State, his Credit with foreign Courts, and his Popularity at home, in that Manner wherein he judged that these eminent Qualities might become most useful, and most beneficial to the publick Interest.

The universal Acclamation accompanied, and confirmed the Sovereign's
H Choice;

Choice; the Subject's Acceptance was followed by the general Approbation.

Are not these Things so? And is there any Room to deny them? The Review, which I have been making, is very far from being agreeable to me; but how could I avoid it? Did I not promise to deal as impartially with other Persons in the Course of this important *Meditation*, as with myself.

But *nil desperandum est*: Well-founded Courage always hopes the best, and ever exerts itself in proportion to the Difficulties, with which it finds itself environed. Though, therefore, the Person himself, whom I would wish principally to oppose and to attack, be all over invulnerable, when the Blow is aimed immediately at his own Breast; yet, thro' the Sides of the *Under-Ministers* a well-directed Stroke may haply find him; and (by rendering his Friends and Confidants; those who have the inferior Wheels of Government committed

committed to their Management, discontented, uneasy, and unsatisfied in their several Offices) may consequentially disturb him in his high Station, and make it, what I would wish it to be, extremely disagreeable to him.

Suppose then that I endeavoured to scatter amongst these Gentlemen the Seeds of mutual Jealousy, Distrust, Suspicion, and Diffidence, both of each other, and of their common Patron and Benefactor. “ *Such an one* has too little
 “ Power annexed to the high Office,
 “ with which he is distinguished. —
 “ *Another*, puffed up with the Honour
 “ of a few Whispers, takes too much
 “ upon him. *This Man* prides himself
 “ in the Preferment, which would have
 “ better suited the prompt Wit, forward
 “ Tongue, and ever-craving Assurance
 “ of a younger Senator. *That* is always
 “ upon the Reserve, and will neither open
 “ his Mouth for himself, nor the Pub-

“lick; whilst a *third* is too open, un-
 “guarded, and incogitant for a States-
 “man.”—Ay! this must do! This Plan
 cannot fail of producing the desired Effect.
 —Thus will the regular Course of his
 Majesty’s Business be obstructed and im-
 peded. Every one will be Head; Feet
 and Hands there will be none. The
 great Machine of Government will stand
 still. Hence general Perplexity, Distur-
 bances, and Confusion will be introdu-
 ced; and then—! And then it shall be
 my Misfortune, not my Fault, if I do
 not ride in the Whirlwind, and direct
 the Storm to my own Advantage.

But the *Cabal*.—that is true,—they
 must not be forgotten.—What if I at-
 tempted to renew the antiquated Charge
 against them, “that they were born *To-
 ries*; that the *Tories* respect and speak
 well of them, and that they have formed
 a profound Plan to render the greatest
 Subject in the Kingdom as violent a *Tory*
 as themselves”? By reviving this Accu-
 sation

sation I shall not only extremely distress the eminent Person, who must have seen ten Thousand Instances of their unaffected Loyalty to their Sovereign, and will therefore never be persuaded to give them up to the malicious Machinations of their Enemies; but I shall, likewise, beat a fresh Alarm to the whole Body of the Old Whigs, with whom it will be for my superlative Benefit to be entirely reconciled. I shall alarm their Jealousy, and induce them, perhaps, to throw themselves under my Conduct, as the watchful Guardian of theirs, and the true national Interest.

What tho' I think them in my Conscience quite innocent of this atrocious Calumny? What tho' they have been honourably acquitted of it, after a very severe Scrutiny, by the Judgment of the most august and most impartial Assembly in the World? It matters not! *One of them* has that extraordinary Fund of moral Merit, good Learning, and sound Sense,

Sense, that the malicious World will be always ready to lay hold of, and to believe every Thing of him, which may tend to put a Stop to the swift Career of his Prosperity, and to bring him down to a nearer Level with themselves.— And as for the *Other*— him I mean, who has the Reputation of being the best Orator in the World, next to myself,— was he not born in that Part of the Island, where *Jacobites* chiefly abound? Has he not near Relations still attached to the Interests of the banished Family? Did he not suck the first Elements of Literature at a School where a Tory Master presided? And was not his Education finished at an University too justly famous for the Contractedness of its political Principles, and the Inveteracy of its Prejudices to the Anticonstitutional Branch of *the House of Stuart*? —Trifles light as Air are to the Envyers, the Aspirers, the Jealous, and the Lovers of Change, Confirmations strong as the strongest Evidence which can be produced

duced in *Westminster-Hall*.—Nor shall it be forgotten that the Wife of *Cæsar* was not only to be free from Guilt, but that she was to be exempt, likewise, even from the Suspicion of Guilt.

But suppose that, by an unexpected Reverse of Fortune, I should be obliged to surrender the high Office, which I have the Honour to be, at present, invested with! which I am possessed of! Can I afford to have it taken from me? And will not too great a Quantity of my Weight and Importance depart with it?—Let me not imagine such an Attempt to be even possible—for who will dare to hazard so bold an Adventure, whilst I am Master of this thundering Tongue, this all-piercing Wit, and these unsubduable Spirits? and can moreover command the Tongues, Wit, Spirit, and even Places of my dear Relations? As easily may Ships pretend to sail against the united Efforts of Wind and Tide, as the Wheels of Government offer to move

move on, when we hang upon and clog them. Should, however, contrary to all rational Expectation, so rash and fool-hardy a Measure be attempted before we are quite prepared to attack our Enemies, and to advance ourselves into their Stations, upon the least Appearance of Condescension upon my Part, all will be again softened, mollified, and reconciled, until a more favourable Opportunity of opposing shall present itself.

Oh! It is a most blessed Endowment to be the *sovereign Orator* of a whole Nation, and to know how to conform, suit, and adapt one's Wisdom to all Times, Seasons, and Events.—Oh! it is—but I am interrupted—Who is there?—Tell *Sir George* that I will wait upon him immediately!—Glorious, pleasing, flattering Ambition! I was born to be the greatest of great Men, nor shall the Fates be disappointed!

Unus par bello, belloque simillimus unus!

F I N I S.